1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [736]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 853 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tutlyi*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [897]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

578 857 865 [114] When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work,
866 but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and
868 carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment.
524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep
533 or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

857 868 492 [553] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with 857 868 [535] him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 ●866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.